

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W

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R 092114Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 514

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 19

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9288

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING 9 NOVEMBER

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE KHLESTOV, ON BEHALF OF THE USSR, THE GDR, POLAND, AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, TABLED ON 8 NOVEMBER A DRAFT REDUCTION AGREEMENT. THE EASTER PROPOSAL CALLS FOR AN AGREEMENT TO BE NEGOTIATED BY THE END OF 1974 TO BE IMPLEMENTED IN THREE STAGES. DURING 1975, REDUCTIONS TOTALING 20,000 WOULD BE MADE BY BOTH SIDES. THE PROPOSAL DID NOT SPECIFY A MIX BETWEEN FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES IN THIS FIRST STAGE. DURING 1976, THE FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES IN THE REDCUTION AREA WOULD BE REDUCED BY FIVE PERCENT. DURING 1977, THEY WOULD BE CUT BY TEN PERCENT. REDUCTIONS WOULD BE MADE BY SPECIFIC UNITS, INCLUDING THEIR EQUIPMENT, AND PARTICULARLY INCLUDING AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS. (COMMENT: PARTICULAR ATTENTION

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SHOULD BE GIVEN TO MAINTAINING CONFIDENTIALITY OF THIS PROPOSAL.)

THE SOVIETS IMMEDIATELY BEGAN PRESSING IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH WESTERN DELEGATES FOR REACTIONS TO THE PROPOSAL, AND THE AD HAC GROUP AGREED THAT A WESTERN FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE TO BE TABLED SOON. ONE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF THE SOVIET MOVE IS TO ACCELERATE THE TIMETABLE OF THE TALKS SINCE THE SOVIETS MIGHT WILL HAVE WAITED FOR SEVEAL MONTHS BEFORE ADVNACING THIS POSITION. END SUMMARY.

2. A GOOD TONE WAS SET FOR THE WEEK OF 5 NOVEMBER BY THE POLISH REP (STRULAK) WHO HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE ON 5 NOVEMBER APPARENTLY IN RESPONSE TO THE CONFERENCE HELD BY THE NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) ON 31 OCTOBER. STRULAK WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO ASSERT THAT THERE WAS A GOOD AND CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE AMONG THE PARTICIPANTS. WHILE ESSENTIALLY REPEATING THE BREZHNEV FORMULATIONS ON SUBSTANCES, IN RESPONSE TO PRESS QUESTIONS HE PORTRAYED THE EASTERN POSITION AS FLEXIBLE, NOT EXCLUDING THE RELEVANCY, ALBEIT SUBORDINATE TO REDUCTIONS, OF SOME "ASSOCIATED MEASURES", AND IMPLIED THAT THERE WAS SOME ROOM FOR NEGOTIATING ON THE EASTERN POSITION THAT FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES HOULD BE REDUCED SIMULTANEOUSLY.

3. ACCORDING TO PLAN, AT THE PLENARY SESSION ON 6 NOVEMBER THE NETHERLANDS REP SPOKE ON THE OBJECTIES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS EMPHASIZING THE GOAL OF ENHANCED STABILITY AND STRENGTHENED SECURITY. THE GREED REP (DOUNTAS) ADDRESSED THE TOPIC OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR THE FLANK STATES. NO EASTERN REPRESENTATIVE TOOK THE FLOOR.

4. DURING THE SOVIET NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION ON 7 NOVEMBER, SOVIET REPS KHLESTOV AND SMIRNOVSKY INVITED US REP AND DEPREP TO PRIVATE MEETING. THE SOVIETS EXPLAINED THAT THEY WANTED TO AVOID TOTAL SURPRISES DURING THE TALKS, AND SO WERE ALERTING THE US REP TO A PROPOSAL THEY WOULD TABLE THE NEXT DAY. THE PROPOSAL THE SOVIET REPS OUTLINED WAS CONFIRMED ON 8 NOVEMBER AS KHLESTOV TABLED A DRAFT REDCUTION AGREEMENT. THE PROPSOAL, AS PRESENTED IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT AND ELABORATED BY KHLESTOV'S REMARKS TO THE PLENARY (BOTH REPORTED IN VIENNA 9248 NOTAL), CONSISTED OF THE FOLLOWING ESSENTIAL FEATURES: THE AGREEMENT WOULD BE NEGOTIATED BY THE END OF 1974 AND IMPLEMENTED IN THREE STAGES; DURING 1975, REDUCTIONS TOTTALLING 20,000 WOULD BE MADE BY BOTH SIDES (THE PROPOSAL DID
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NOT SPECIFY A MIX BETWEEN FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES IN THIS STAGE); DURING 1976, THE FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA WOULD BE REDUCED BY FIVE PERCENT; DURING 1977, THEY WOULD BE CUT BY TEN PERCENT; REDUCTIONS WOULD BE MADE BY SPECIF UNITS, INCLUDING THEIR EQUIPMENT, AND PARTICULARLY INCLUDING AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS. (KHLESTOV TOLD US REP IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION THAT REDUCTIONS PERCENTAGES WOULD BE COMPUTED ON

THE BASIS OF THE TOTAL OF FORCES IN THE AREA ON
THE DATE OF SIGNING THE AGREEMENT.) BY WAY

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/163 W

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R 092114Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 515

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 VIENNA 9288

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: MBFR: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING

9 NOVEMBER

FROM US REP MBFR

OF MISSION, THE SOVIET DRAFT AGREEMENT AVOIDS "ASSOCIATED
MEASURES", MAKES NO DIRECT REFERENCE TO FRENCH FORCES IN GERMANY,
AND CONTAINS NO VERIFICATION PROVISIONS-ALTHOUGH KHLESTOV'S
STATEMENT REFERS TO VERIFYING BY NATIONAL MEANS.

5. UK REP (ROSE) PRESENTED AS SCHEDULED ALLIED VIEWS ON
DISPARITIES FOR THE MILITARY POSITION OF EAST AND WEST FOLLOWED
KHLESTOV. HIS PRESENTATION SERVED AS A GOOD FIRST RESPONSE TO
THE SOCIET PROPOSAL. IN FACT, THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION

SUBSEQUENTLY SPECULATED TO THE ITALIAN DELEGATION THAT THE WEST
MUST HAVE BEEN FORWARDED OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL IN ORDER TO HAVE
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PREPARED A RESPONSE TO IT. BUT THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM ADDRESSED
BY THE AD HOC GROUP ON THE NIGHT OF THE 7TH AND IN SUBSEQUENT
MEETINGS THIS WEEK WAS HOW THE WEST SHOULD REACT TO THE PROPOSAL
WHOSE SUBSTANCE HAD BEEN PREDICTED BUT WHOSE EARLY TIMING WAS
SOMETHING OF A SURPRISE. BY THE END OF THE WEEK, THE GROUP HAD
DEVELOPED A CONSENSUS ON THE DIRECTIONS TO TAKE. THE ALLIED
REPRESENTATIVES IN VIENNA THOUGHT THAT THE WESTERN SIDE SHOULD NOT
BE CONCERNED BY THE EARLY TABLING OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, BUT AT
THE SAME TIME SHOULD GET A WESTERN PROPOSAL ON THE TABLE FAIRLY
QUICKLY. THEY FAVORED COMPLETING PLANNED PRESENTATIONS DEVELOPING
CONCEPTS FROM THE ALLIED OPENING STATEMENTS WHILE CHARACTERIZING
THE REMAINING TOPICS NOT AS CONCEPTS BUT AS GENERAL PROPOSALS FOR
THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE GROUP HOPED THAT IT THEN WOULD BE POSSIBLE
TO TABLE A WESTERN FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL SOMETIME THE WEEK OF
18 NOVEMBER. THE GROUP ALSO AGREED THAT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL
SHOULD BE KEPT STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL, AND THAT PUBLIC REVELATION
THAT IT HAD BEEN ADVANCED ON PUBLICATION OF ITS CONTENT WOULD ONLY
BENEFIT THE OTHER SIDE.

6. FOR THEIR PART, THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES APPARENTLY WERE
PREPARED, AT LEAST FOR THE FIRST FEW DAYS, TO KEEP THEIR PROPOSAL
OUT OF THE PRESS, POSSIBLY FEELING THAT IT WOULD LEAK OUT FROM
THE WESTERN SIDE IN ANY CASE, LEAVING THEM FREE TO ELABORATE ON
IT WHILE CHASTIZING THE WEST FOR THE LEAK. DURING A RECEPTION
HELD BY AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR KREISKY FOR THE CONFERENCE ON 8
NOVEMBER, THE SOVIET DELEGATES PRESSED FOR WESTERN REACTIONS TO
THE PROPOSAL. THE SOVIET REPS PARTICULARLY CONTINUED TO DISPUTE
THE WESTERN CHARACTERIZATIONS OF THE DISPARITIES IN THE
SITUATION, ARGUING THAT ANY ADVANTAGES THE SOVIETS MIGHT DRIVE
FROM GEOGRAPHY AND TANK SUPERIORITY WERE OFFSET BY WESTERN
ADVANTAGES IN AIR POWER AND NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES.

7. ASSESSMENT: THE EASTERN PROPOSAL IS A MIXED BLESSING.
SUBSTANTIVELY, IT HAS NUMEROUS UNDESIRABLE FEATURES. TACTICALLY,
IT PLACES THE SOVIETS ON THE OFFENSIVE FOR THE TIME BEING. BUT
THE TABLING OF A PROPOSAL BY THE OTHER SIDE SO EARLY IN THE
TALKS MEANS THAT THE ANTICIPATED NEGOTIATING SCHEDULE WILL BE
ACCELERATED AND THAT THE TALKS SHOULD GET DOWN TO REAL NEGOTIATING
BY EARLY IN THE NEW YEAR. THE AD HOC GROUP HAS REACTED CALMLY AND
COHESIVELY TO THE TURN OF EVENTS AND THE ALLIED REPS IN VIENNA
SEEM PREPARED TO TABLE AND DEFEND AN ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL
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AS SOON AS ONE CAN EMERGE WITH NAC APPROVAL.HUMES

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Message Attributes

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